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The Creative Woman is a quarterly published by Governors State University. We focus on a special topic in each issue, presented from a feminist perspective. We celebrate the creative achievements of women in many fields and appeal to inquiring minds. We publish fiction, poetry, book reviews, articles, photography and original graphics.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT

by Lynn Thomas Strauss

The contribution of individual women and of women's peace organizations is a significant part of the history of the peace movement in America. Influential organizations include the Women's Peace Party organized in 1915 and led by Jane Addams, The Women's International League For Peace and Freedom, active from 1919 to 1960 and Women's Strike For Peace organized in the early 1960's and still active in the 1982 anti-nuclear arms coalition.

American women have a long tradition of non-violent resistance to social evils in general and to the violence of war in particular.

Non-violence can be an activist tactic or a way of life and can include pacifism as lived by the Quakers, direct action as practiced by the suffragists or civil disobedience as advocated by Henry David Thoreau.

To choose non-violence as an approach to living represents an affirmation of the goodness in all people and a belief in the power of love to act as an agent of change. The effectiveness of non-violence as a tactic has been proven through history by the successes of the abolitionists, the suffragists, the trade unionists of the 1930s, the followers of Ghandi in India, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s and the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s and 70s.

The non-violent tradition in America represents a movement away from oppression and alienation, violence and fear to an emphasis on human dignity and a struggle for social justice and racial equality in a world at peace.

Perhaps it is the optimism of non-violence as a theory, the faith in

people and in the power of love that draw women in particular so strongly. Who knows better than the nurturers of human society both the potential of the human spirit and the fragile hold that we have upon this life? If there is a maternal instinct, what reaction is stronger or more understandable than the attempt to protect human life at all cost?

Now that women have a degree of freedom from cultural restraint that allows them to take a public stand, more and more women are speaking out on behalf of world peace. In June 1982 more than 500,000 people, a significant percentage of them women, rallied in New York City in support of world peace and nuclear disarmament. But prior to 1914 only a handful of women were involved in public life and most of these were involved primarily in social reform movements.

Until 1914 the peace movement maintained a comfortable position as a relatively uncontroversial reform movement. Women activists of this period were primarily concerned with gaining woman suffrage and aligned themselves with the peace movement only so long as it benefitted this central concern. (1) This early peace movement was involved more with improving things than in protest or change.

The onset of World War I caused a sudden and dramatic change in the peace movement. It began to concern itself much more with basic social change and left behind its complacent attachment to the political establishment. This move away from conservatism was spearheaded by women who were veterans of woman suffrage, social reform and labor organizations. They did not share the distrust of demonstrations and the fear of indiscreet action that inhibited leaders of older peace organizations.

On August 29, 1914 fifteen hundred women in mourning dress marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City in silence except for the beat of muffled

drums. Crowds interrupted their silence with applause as the leaders of the parade displayed their peace flag, a large white banner with a dove carrying an olive branch in the center.

The women's parade was significant for many reasons. It was the first peace organization to take dramatic public action. Like all effective direct action, the impetus for the parade had stemmed not from the desire to promote a specific peace program, but from "an imperative necessity for expression". (2) The urgency of making a timely protest overrode attempts to formulate a set of policies.

Within a year of the Women's Peace Parade a multitude of new leaders and societies emerged to challenge the political and methodological biases of earlier peace organizations. The new leadership came to view the peace movement for the first time as a vehicle of change, of economic and political democratization.

The Women's Peace Committee's most radical innovation was its insistence upon the special mission of women. The committee drew upon women active in public affairs many of whom were resentful of a political system and government controlled exclusively by men--many were hardened to political controversy and some may have acquired a taste for unpopular causes. Self-consciously part of an under-privileged group, these well-educated but under-challenged women displayed an affinity for egalitarian ideals and radical programs unknown in earlier peace campaigns. (3)

The parade and later the Women's Peace Party based their protests on one primary article of faith--the solidarity of all women in instinctive but rational opposition to war. This faith echos in the voices of women speaking at peace rallies today. The idea that women had a special interest in peace, and thus a special contribution to offer to all mankind, inevitably led to the question of how this poten-

tial contribution could be made effective in actual political decisions. Thus, from the beginning the women's peace organizations found themselves inextricably involved in the issue of women's political participation. Millions of middle-class women in the early years of the 20th century were participating in local and national women's clubs and federations. The notion of special "women's causes" represented one of the means by which these women, while still accepting much of the Victorian ideology of special feminine characteristics of domesticity, emotionalism, sentimentality, and purity, could employ these very traits as justification for public action. One of the causes with the widest appeal was the quest for international peace. Women were presumed to be particularly inclined by instinct and temperament to concern themselves with the nurture of children and by extension, with the nurture of human life generally. "Conservation of life" and "protection of the home" were popular cliches (as they still are). War obviously posed a dire threat to home and life (as it does still). A variety of women's organizations including WCTU, The National Council of Women and the General Federation of Women's Clubs gave support to petitions, resolutions and appeals for peace and arbitration.

At the Women's Peace Party founding convention one of the most vigorous promoters of a permanent women's peace organization was 70-year-old Fanny Garrison Villard who had found existing peace societies ineffectual because they compromised true principles of peace to support "adequate armament" and "defensive war". Mrs. Villard wanted an organization based on the principle of "the inviolability and sacredness of human life under all circumstances". The hope of the future, she felt, lay in a new "moral movement" launched by women. (4)

Additional pressure for a women's peace organization came from promoters of social reform such as Lillian Wald, and from suffragists such as Carrie Catt.

Others speaking out for a national organization were Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, who had recently broken with Emmeline Pankhurst in the English suffrage movement and Rosika Schwimmer of Poland, a leader of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance who went to jail with Alice Paul. Pethick-Lawrence wrote "women see in this devastating war the utter failure to safeguard the human family, on the part of the male governments of all nations... ..!perverted diplomacy' and 'male statecraft' have ignored the bonds uniting women, workers, and common people throughout the world."

As with any political organization, there was conflict within the Women's Peace Party. At the organizing convention political divisions, conflicts between rival reform organizations, disputes over method and personal incompatibilities and antagonisms were quickly apparent. But a coalition emerged because the suffrage leaders saw that through women's contribution to restore peace they could prove the worth and necessity of political participation by women at the highest levels and therefore argue more convincingly for woman suffrage. As a prominent figure in all of the participating women's organizations--peace, social reform and suffrage, Jane Addams became the logical focus of agitation for leader of a national women's peace organization. At the conference called through a letter signed by Carrie Catt and Jane Addams in January 1915 in Washington, the Women's Peace Party was born.

The Women's Peace Party officially invited into membership any women who were in "substantial sympathy" with the party's central purpose, whether or not they could accept every plank in the platform. (The plank on suffrage being in dispute). The controversy within the Women's Peace Party over suffrage soon gave way to the issue of radicalism. The emphasis upon further democratization and popular control of foreign policy was more than some of the charter members could comfortably support. The New York chapter of the Party included Crystal

Eastman, and other youthful radicals Freda Kirchwey, Fola La Follette, Jessie Hughan, Rose Scheiderman, Anna Walling, Anne Herendeen and Margaret Lane. By 1917 the New York chapter was embarrassing the more conservative women by its radical activities.

There was evidence that the Women's Party's basic supposition that WWI was unpopular might be changing as was the existence of solidarity of all women on the issue of peace. The Women's Peace Party found itself in an increasingly radical and minority stance. The women first asked to participate in official mediation in diplomacy, then semiofficial or unofficial mediation. Their attacks on the old form of diplomacy became more strident, their demands for a more democratic and representative diplomacy more experimental and egalitarian and their criticisms of dominant elements in American business and political leadership more frequent.

As they courted workers and farmers in support of their campaigns against expanded military expenditures, and preservation of America neutrality they came to see themselves as leaders of a democratic coalition. The peace movement had for the first time in America become an agitator for social change.

Frustrated in attempts at international action, the Women's Peace Party turned in 1916 toward a less unpopular domestic campaign to resist further military preparedness.

When in February 1917 the United States broke diplomatic relations with Germany, the Women's Peace Party faced the violent denunciations of a nation on the verge of war. Defections from all organizations devoted to peace were immediate and severe in scope. The most dramatic defection was of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. They pulled out of the Women's Peace Party because support of the peace movement at that time threatened to

compromise the cause of suffrage. Leaders in the suffrage movement recognized the opportunity of war work to prove the economic value of women and realized that after significant war service women could never be overlooked in politics again. Sensing the possibility of earning the franchise through war service, suffragists rushed to form preparedness and war service organizations.

Also by 1917 the New York chapter and the more conservative Massachusetts chapter of the Women's Peace Party had become polarized. Although Jane Addams tried to steer a middle course, in 1918 the Massachusetts branch changed its name and broke all ties with the national Women's Peace Party.

The core of the Peace Party survived and emerged in 1919 as a section of the new Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

* * *

During the next 15 years, (1920-1935) the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) grew to 11 paid staff members, 120 branches and over 13,000 members. The reaction to the end of W.W.I. was to inspire more people to pacifism, to abhorrence of war and to the belief that America would never again be involved in an international conflict. The W.I.L.P.F. was active as a reformist movement and had many strong pacifist women as leaders.

Dorothy Detzer, its lobbyist and executive secretary sparked investigation of the munitions industry that led to the formation of the Nye Committee.

In 1934 the W.I.L.P.F. convention announced that a "real and lasting peace and true freedom cannot exist under the present system of exploitation privilege and profit" and that consequently it would see "a new system which would realize social, economic and political equality for all without distinction of sex, race or opinion".

In 1937 as a war in Europe seemed imminent W.I.L.P.F. supported other strongly pacifist groups in their call for American neutrality. In 1939 still aligned with other radical peace groups, they vigorously opposed the Roosevelt Administration's foreign policy, aid to Britain and conscription.

In 1941 the W.I.L.P.F. national board reported itself "deeply concerned by a spirit of isolationism on the part of a large body of American public opinion--an isolationism which manifests itself in a narrow and hard nationalism, an unscientific racism, a disastrous militarism and an unthinking acceptance of an armaments economy." It added: "We believe...that the world has developed into a single economic unity,..."(5)

When World War II broke out, W.I.L.P.F. lost half of its membership. Much of the staunch leadership remained including absolute pacifists Dorothy Detzer, Dorothy Medders Robinson, president during the war years, Hannah Clothier Hull (a Quaker and former president). Emily Greene Balch remained a member although she did support the war. (She later received the Nobel Peace Prize for her work in the W.I.L.P.F.).

As Pearl Harbor approached, the peace movement grew increasingly pacifist, with those supporting the war dropping out. But it had no immediate pacifist solutions with which to confront the growth of world fascism. So while pacifism may have been an ethically superior position, it was a bleak choice for people and for nations. The Jewish members of the W.I.L.P.F. were subject to persecution because of their pacifist beliefs. The New York chapter in particular suffered harassment.

After the war, a much weakened League resisted internal pressure to disband completely.

During the early 1950s the development of the Cold War caused a retreat in the peace movement. Pacifists were often the target of the anti-communist crusade. Also after W.W.II there was

a growth of nationalism and consensus for military preparedness so we would be "ready" the next time. One impact of Hiroshima was the rise of "nuclear pacifism" as opposed to "pacifist humanitarianism". This trend continues in the Freeze Movement of the 80's with more people opposed to nuclear war than opposed to violence in general. Later in the fifties after the Soviet Union detonated a series of H-bombs, 70% of Americans favored a joint agreement to abolish arms and military training. Although few people were absolute pacifists, the peace movement in 1957 underwent a revival based on resistance against atmospheric testing of the H-bomb. W.I.L.P.F. took an active part in circulating anti-testing petitions leading to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty signed in 1963. The Test Ban Treaty was a clear victory of the peace movement--a popular movement had influenced national policy. But when the Kennedy Administration, sensing the strength of the anti-testing movement, shifted the military emphasis to more conventional warfare, as it was soon to be applied in Vietnam, the peace movement mobilized yet again.

It was about this time, in the early 60s that Women's Strike For Peace was formed. The Chicago chapter was led by Shirley Lens. During the Vietnam War years they actively protested American involvement in that war through strikes, rallies, marches, mailings, and other direct action.

Women's Strike was active in organizing the 1980 Women's Pentagon Action and this year used its slogan "End The Arms Race-Save The Human Race" to mobilize participants in anti-nuclear rallies in Chicago and in New York.

During the 1970s the peace movement became more "respectable" and some groups merged with the liberal wing of the Democratic party. But in spite of the decline of the movement during the 70's, I agree with Dave Dellinger when he says in his book More Power Than We Know, "The fragmented movement of the early and mid-seventies has the potential for

rebirth as a broader, deeper, more powerful force."

The years of anti-war activity have not been wasted. They have created a climate of public opinion and a history of peace movement involvement that are waiting to be tapped.

Some of this potential has been tapped by Helen Caldicott in her organization, Physicians for Social Responsibility. These practicing doctors speak nationwide about the realities of a nuclear incident and urge people to actively work for nuclear disarmament.

Another new movement organized by Randall Forsberg is the Nuclear Freeze Movement and local groups have been successful in passing legislation promoting the nuclear freeze concept. Forsberg has been working for years in a national campaign to educate Americans about the nuclear dangers and to suggest a Congressional action. Several months ago a proposal for a bilateral freeze of nuclear weapons was introduced in both the U.S. House and Senate. The impetus for the freeze came from a paragraph written by Forsberg, suggesting that the U.S. and the Soviet Union jointly stop the nuclear arms race by ceasing deployment, testing and production of all nuclear weapons and vehicles designed to deliver nuclear weapons. The nuclear freeze campaign continues to gain momentum, but the rhetoric of the Reagan Administration suggests it is unmoved by the popular anti-nuclear movement. The true impact of the current movement will become clear with the events of the future.

So although the peace movement in the 1980's has a degree of credibility and the potential of exercising political power, it is still a minority movement. In spite of the length of the struggle for peace we continue to move forward seeking inspiration in the words of Jane Addams who, speaking of the position of a pacifist during World War I said, "...what after all has maintained the human race on this old globe despite all the calamities of nature and all the tragic failings

of mankind, if not faith in new possibilities, and courage to advocate them." (6)

To tell the story of the role of women in the peace movement of America, I was blocked and frustrated yet again by the gaps that exist in our libraries and in our history. Most of the women who have contributed time, intelligence, energy, courage and commitment to almost 200 years of struggle against war remain unnamed and unacknowledged. Yet, few would dispute the significance of women's contribution no matter how unsung. From the Quaker women to the Catholic workers to the suburban housewives, women have been both the backbone and in the forefront of the non-violent struggle toward peace. I write with a sense of awe and honor for those who have gone before, a sense of respect for those who continue the struggle and a hope that future generations will be free to turn their vast energy in new and more creative directions.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Marchand, C. Roland. The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918. New Jersey. Princeton University Press. 1972. Preface xiv
- (2) Ibid. P. 182.
- (3) Ibid. P. 184.
- (4) Ibid. P. 189.
- (5) Wittner, Lawrence S. Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1941-1960. New York. Columbia University Press. 1969. p. 27.
- (6) Lynd, Staughton. Editor, Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History. Indianapolis & N.Y. Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc. 1966. p. 189.



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WHO'S WHO IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

American Friends Service Committee:

Founded in 1917 by Quakers, this oldline peace group (winner of the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize) helped organize the campaign resulting in pro-freeze votes by 161 Vermont town meetings this year.

Business Executives Move:

A Chicago-based group formed during the Vietnam War era, BEM has remobilized against the impact of the arms race on the economy.

Clergy and Laity Concerned:

Begun in 1965 to mobilize the religious community against the Vietnam War, this 25,000 member group headquartered in New York City, is now a powerful force in the disarmament movement.

Council for a Livable World:

One of the authoritative voices in the anti-nuke movement, the council is led by top scientists including Jerome B. Wiesner, former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Co-founder and current chairman George Kistiakowsky, a former Harvard chemist was one of the fathers of the atomic bomb.

Federation of American Scientists:

The first anti-nuclear weapons group, it was founded immediately after atomic bombs were dropped in WWII. The founders were scientists who worked on the first atomic bomb at Los Alamos, N.M.

Fellowship of Reconciliation:

A primary force in the campaign, the FOR sponsored a Jan. 1980 meeting of representatives of 30 peace groups at which the freeze movement was born.

WOMEN FOR PEACE

343 So. Dearborn
Chicago, Ill.
60604



The Council for a Livable World



100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
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11 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02108
Phone: (617) 742-9395

Mobilization for Survival:

A national organization involved in coalition-building and education for stopping nuclear power, banning nuclear weapons, ending the arms race and funding human needs.

Pax Christi International:

An internationally-based peace movement, seeks to promote peace and justice through education and networking.

Planetary Citizens:

Seeks to promote a planetary perspective and commitment to humane solutions to global problems through a program of publications, workshops, conferences, etc.

SANE:

Mobilizes grassroots support for American initiatives for peace and disarmament efforts for economic conversion.

World Peacemakers:

Faith-oriented network dedicated to activating people on security issues.

National Peace Academy Campaign:

A campaign to institutionalize the arts of peace by teaching and researching the new science of conflict resolution in a national academy of peace. The National Peace Academy would be a graduate-level institution offering a two-year Master's program and it could have branch programs on existing college and university campuses.

Freeze Campaign Clearinghouse:

This information center was set up in St. Louis to emphasize that the freeze campaign springs from the heart of the nation--"a groundswell coming out of middle-class America," says its co-director.



PLANETARY CITIZENS
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

sane

A CITIZENS' ORGANIZATION FOR A SANE WORLD

711 G STREET, SOUTHEAST, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003
PHONE: (202) 546-7100

**NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY
CAMPAIGN**



Conflict
Resolution



Conflict
Reso



Conflict

Nuclear Network:

A Washington-based group with the goal of keeping track of the proliferating number of anti-nuke groups. groups

Parenting in a Nuclear Age:

Founded by California parents who want to find a way to explain the nuclear issue to their children in "an unalarming way." Arlyce Currie, who runs an Oakland day-care center, came up with the idea after her 9-year-old daughter began having nightmares that the world was coming to an end.

Physicians for Social Responsibility:

The group claims 10,000 doctors as members. Its president is Helen Caldicott, an Australian-born pediatrician who resigned from Harvard Medical School last year to devote all her time to what she calls "the ultimate form of preventive medicine."

Union of Concerned Scientists:

This group of prominent scientists is headed by MIT physicist Henry Kendall. A sponsor of last year's nuclear-issues convocation on 150 campuses, the union has endorsed a no-first-use policy, the nuclear freeze and cutting the U.S. strategic weapons arsenal in half.

United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War:

An organization trying to mobilize the college population, which has been conspicuously absent from the anti-nuke movement. UCAM wants to inject the campuses into November's Congressional election campaign, resurrecting a force that has been still since the anti-Vietnam protests of a decade ago.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom:

This group was instrumental in pressing for the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. It alerted the public to evidence of strontium-90 in women's breast milk. It hopes to register one million American women behind its "Stop the Arms Race" campaign.

Will this be our final epidemic?

Physicians for Social Responsibility, Inc.

P.O. Box 144

23 Main Street

Watertown, Massachusetts 02172



UNION OF CONCERNED
SCIENTISTS



*Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom*

FOUNDED IN 1915 / First President: JANE ADDAMS

SOUTH SUBURBAN NUCLEAR FREEZE COMMITTEE

by Katherine Schwartz

I'm not much on meetings and I don't consider myself a joiner, but I suddenly have become more and more aware of the dangers of a nuclear holocaust. In response to the urging of some friends I attended a meeting with other concerned people. I began to pay conscious attention to the issue of the nuclear threat and I found myself clipping and pasting countless articles on the subject. This heightened awareness, fear, and sense of responsibility led me to participate in the formation of the South Suburban Freeze Committee.

The first article in my scrapbook is dated March 1, 1982: ON ACCIDENTAL NUCLEAR WAR, by Dr. James Muller, professor at Harvard and a founder of International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War. AREA GROUP MOBILIZES AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMS appeared in The Homewood-Flossmoor Star, announcing a Peace Walk on April 10 in Chicago. The latest clipping (an inch or so of scrapbook later) came from The Chicago Sun-Times for May 27 and is headlined PAUL NEWMAN CALLS U.S. ARMS ATTITUDE 'CLIMATE OF TERROR'. A late addition to the collection--and thus chronologically misplaced--comes from Chemical and Engineering News for April 12.

Spread around my writing table are more pieces cut from the foregoing publications as well as from The Chicago Tribune, The New York Times, U.S. News and World Report--all accumulated in the last three weeks, often four or five in a single day. A meeting of the South Suburban Nuclear Freeze Committee, many telephone conversations about a petitioning drive in the south suburbs, a trip to New York City to be part of the 750,000 who protested the nuclear-arms build-up there on June 12: these and related activities have combined to keep the clippings piled instead of pasted.

At one corner of my table a stack of New Yorker magazines containing

Jonathan Schell's frightening "Fate of the Earth" (now published in book form) is topped by paperbacks of Roger Molander's Nuclear War: What's in It for You? (published this year as part of his effort to publicize Ground Zero Week April 17 through 24) and Nigel Calder's Nuclear Nightmares (1979). In a bulging folder labeled "Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign" Randall Forsberg's "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race" begins:

The United States and the Soviet Union should immediately and jointly stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt an immediate, mutual freeze on all further testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons.



photograph by K. Schwartz

Stuffed beneath this three-page "Call" are dozens of pamphlets and flyers, explaining everything from the relative nuclear strength of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (experts disagree, mainly because there are several ways to count the weapons and their methods of "delivery"), and the effects of the nuclear build-up on our economy (freeze proponents say military spending provides fewer jobs than if the same money were spent in the civilian sector), to the problem of verification (opponents say, "You can't trust the Russians!" while proponents reply that experts on both sides agree present nuclear devices can be monitored to some degree, and the pro-freeze group worries about the question of detecting new, ever-more-sophisticated weapons).

Someone who has never heard of this protest against the "profound and unpredictable" risks of nuclear war and its consequences--and there are still many such people--might be both surprised and baffled by this preoccupation with telephone and typewriter, or with books, scrap or otherwise. Why these meetings and marchings? Why this tidal wave of words, this avalanche of paper? We've had the bomb, lo, these 37 years and nothing has happened. Why all the fuss now?

On the day my husband and I were to go to the New York June 12 Rally--only twenty minutes, in fact, from the time we had to leave--a reporter for the Suburban Tribune called. His main interest was whether or not the Flossmoor village board of trustees had, the night before, approved a resolution calling for a nuclear freeze. I was happy to report that they had--unanimously. Wasn't Flossmoor, he said, "--uh--considered a rather--uh--conservative community?" Pleased that my village had come out on the side of the angels, I offered some generalization about the serious, thoughtful people who live here, but of course we both knew that most Flossmoor residents are, indeed, right of center on most issues--economic, political, social. With my husband frowning and pointing to the clock, I explained to my caller

why I had to shorten our conversation, much as I enjoyed being interviewed. His last question--and he sounded genuinely curious--was about the South Suburban Nuclear Freeze Committee: Why did this group get together? I had no time to collect my deep philosophical thoughts, let alone refer to my extensive collection of facts and figures, so I responded with the first thing that came to mind: "Because we're terrified."

In a recent Sun-Times "Personal View," Ron Freund, Columbia College professor and member of Clergy and Laity Concerned, says, "A common misconception about the nuclear freeze movement is that it rose as if by magic." Although Freund concedes that the "bellicose policies" of the Reagan administration have helped to fan the flames of protest, he does not agree that they started the fire. As he sees it, there have been three periods of opposition to the nuclear arms race since 1945. The first extended from the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in that year, until 1950, when people began to push aside their worries about a nuclear holocaust in the alarms and excursions of the moment--McCarthy and the Korean war. Beginning about 1958, fear of food contamination due to nuclear tests in the Pacific, Freund reminds us, "provoked widespread protest": women picketed the White House and 9,000 scientists signed a petition urging an end to nuclear tests. Then in 1963 a Partial Test Ban Treaty, forbidding tests in the atmosphere, was signed by both the Soviets and the United States. This soothed people's fears, while the war in Vietnam furnished a more immediate focus for protests. The third, and current period of opposition began after our troops left Vietnam in 1973. A campaign against the B-1 bomber got so much support by 1976 that candidate Jimmy Carter opposed it, but as president he called for development of the cruise missile in its place. Peace leaders then worked (unsuccessfully, as it turned out) for ratification by the U.S. Senate

of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), signed by both superpowers. NATO's decision in 1979 to place 572 missiles in Europe "awakened the dormant peace movement" there, according to Freund. More than three million protested both the proposed NATO missiles and the Soviet SS-20's. Then the Russian invasion of Afghanistan "provided Carter with a pretext to shelve SALT II, which created a vacuum in the arms control arena that the peace movement was to fill."

Results of a poll taken by The Washington Post and ABC News, and reported in U.S. News and World Report for May 24 of this year, says 61% of Americans who were asked "strongly approved" a freeze on nuclear weapons; another 15% approved "somewhat." The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign's National Clearinghouse in St. Louis reported freeze resolutions passed by:

	<u>April 19</u>	<u>June 16</u>
New England Town Meetings	317	425
City councils around the nation	61	165
County councils	19	33
State legislatures	13	13

Included in the figure representing city councils approving the freeze are twelve municipalities in Illinois; of these, four are in our south suburbs.

Much of the credit for securing these last named converts must go to the Homewood-Flossmoor Nuclear Freeze Committee. According to Barbara Smith, one of the members of this organization, H-FNFC was an outgrowth of a group led by the Rev. Andrew Skotnicki, of St. Joseph's Catholic



photograph by K. Schwartz

Church in Homewood. Father Skotnicki had presented a series of programs on the general topic of social justice, or its absence, including consideration of apartheid in South Africa, conditions in El Salvador, conscientious objection as a legal option to the military draft, the relation of multi-national corporations to war and poverty and nuclear power and the arms race. These programs had a theological base; of the forty-some persons attending weekly, a group of about twenty--including a lawyer, an engineer, and several teachers, and ranging in age from 25 to 60--decided to form a permanent group to discuss these and other issues in a religious context and to "pray together as a community." Eventually someone suggested the nuclear freeze movement as something they might well concentrate on. After research and discussion, there was a unanimous vote to pursue further self-education; later this goal expanded to include informing other south suburbanites and influencing village governments to go on record against nuclear weapons' testing, manufacture, and deployment. Meeting at least once a month, the group worked to enlist support from all area churches and synagogues and was successful in twenty to thirty instances. In particular, Fr. Skotnicki persuaded the Homewood-Flossmoor Ministerial Association and the Park Forest Association of Churches and Synagogues to endorse the freeze. Following a highly successful "forum" sponsored by these two groups and attended by a capacity crowd at the Flossmoor village hall, Park Forest's was the first board of trustees to pass a freeze resolution. Calumet City followed, then Flossmoor, and, on June 14, Olympia Fields. H-FNFC is affiliated with Clergy and Laity Concerned and regards the passage of freeze resolutions by area boards of trustees as an immediate goal. Although petitioning was a very discouraging job at first, recently people have been more receptive. Eventually, according to Barbara Smith, the group expects to address

other issues in the field of social justice.

The South Suburban Nuclear Freeze Committee, which will be six months old in August of this year, first met, according to the minutes of February 26, as "a group of women concerned over the atomic arms build-up." Sue Dietrich, of Olympia Fields, and Virginia Lehmann, of Matteson, had asked some friends, who in turn asked their friends. Lehmann, in particular urged that this group decide on very specific, limited goals at the outset, saving philosophical and more detailed organizational considerations for later, if events moved us in that direction. A meeting at Homewood-Flossmoor High School on March 7, when a member of Physicians for Social Responsibility would show a film, and the April 10 Peace Walk in Chicago were chosen for support and participation.

We were part of the 20,000 who marched down Michigan Avenue on a chilly Saturday, April 10, as an expression of support for "End the Arms Race/Save the Human Race." Keith Kluge, chemistry and physics teacher at Rich East High School, spoke about Ground Zero Week at one meeting; David Price, of Metro-West Peace Center in Oak Park, came to another to describe his group's activities and make suggestions for ours. Of ten committees formed, that of the study group has the largest membership, meeting every two weeks to read about and discuss the pros and cons of the freeze movement. So far members have considered Molander's book, a series of editorials in The Chicago Tribune, and the general subject of verifiability--the difficulties of which inspire most of the objections to the freeze idea. Along with the speakers/program committee, those in the study group are making plans for speaking at our own general meetings as well as those of other community groups.

At the June 12 Rally in New York, called to coincide with the month-long

disarmament conference at the United Nations, it was possible to identify a marcher from the Chicago area by the three-by-nine-inch yellow card suspended by string around his or her neck. Those making the trip to NYC took these "Peace Proxy" badges, each containing the names of ten persons who had made contributions to the central organizing committee in Chicago because they wished to be at the rally in spirit, so to speak. The list of names accumulated in this way was to be sent to U.N. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick.

Organizers were hoping for a turnout of 500,000, too large a crowd to be assembled in any single place. Thus, each group had been assigned an area; SSNFC members found friends from Chicago at the Midwest assembly point on 57th near Third, as well as people carrying banners from other parts of Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Minnesota. As we moved into a mainstream of marchers passing by on Third, heading for 57th and eventually Fifth and Central Park, we heard that an equally huge contingent was proceeding down First to 42nd, past UN headquarters. The logistics of having every marcher pass the UN had insurmountable problems; there were, in effect, two giant parades instead of one.

The New York Times for the following Monday confirmed our observation that the march had been essentially "without incident" (we had seen large groups of police with apparently nothing to do but chat among themselves). The paper also reported that many of the extra large corps of workers brought in to clean up the park when the rally ended were set to raking leaves instead. The organizers of the march had arranged for trash bags to be distributed and had reminded the crowd over the loudspeakers to clean up as they left. So 750,000 people had put their trash in the proper baskets, and, when these overflowed, the litter had been stacked around the bins. As Hope Mueller, Chicago coordinator for

April 10/June 12, said later, "We're against pollution, trash as well as nuclear."

Meanwhile, back in the south suburbs of Chicago, SSNFC carried out its plan of marking June 12 with a special petition drive. Some petition carriers preferred to go door to door; others went to post offices, train stations, supermarts, or malls. One woman who is recovering from a broken hip telephoned friends and neighbors; whenever someone responded favorably, her sister went to collect the signature. Altogether, some 2300 signatures were gathered for use, it is hoped, in convincing local, state, and national governments to go on record as favoring a bi-lateral freeze "on further testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons." SSNFC plans to continue this petitioning. Those of us who have tried it (many of us for the first time) generally agree that besides the actual signatures gathered, the contacts, with both signers and those who turn away, are interesting, educational, and often rewarding. A negative response can be disturbing: after all, not every member of this movement is totally convinced that we have all the right on our side, or even that we can have a major effect on those in power; therefore, even a few turn-downs can shake our faith a little.

Regardless of the limits of our optimism or the extent of our pessimism, I think all of us agree that, as I heard someone quoted on a news program recently, "Action is the best antidote for anxiety."

The marked differences between today's nuclear freeze movement and the protests of the Sixties were well illustrated by the speakers at the forum at Flossmoor village hall on April 25, which H-FNFC had asked the churches and synagogues of Homewood, Flossmoor, and Park Forest to sponsor. The first two speakers were women, one from the American Friends Service Committee, and the other from Physicians for Social Responsibility: the first gave facts and figures about the nuclear

arms race; the second showed a film depicting the probable effects of a nuclear war. The other two speakers were a Homewood housewife and a Flossmoor businessman. The latter identified himself as one who might be said to epitomize the idea of "a conservative:" he is, among other things, an ex-Marine, the father of five children, vice president of a major corporation. No flower child, he. But he spoke briefly, quietly, and convincingly of his support for the freeze idea. The fourth speaker, Margaret Freund (no relation to the Ron Freund quoted earlier), has given me permission to quote from her remarks:

I am here because I am--Mrs. Suburbia: wife, mother, homemaker, friend, teacher, volunteer, neighbor, room mother--a vast number of roles, but in many respects your average person with many of the ordinary, everyday, mundane concerns of every individual.. For me, the arms race is a moral issue. It is a question of what is right and what is wrong.

Each person is placed on this earth for but a fragment of eternity. It does not truly belong to any of us. We eat of its produce, drink from its lakes, are warmed by its sun, but we do not own it. God has given man great intelligence. We have used this intelligence to develop vast technologies. To use those technologies for the destruction of our world is the ultimate sin. No man or woman has the right to destroy this world.

With a similar eloquence, George Kennan, former ambassador to the U.S.S.R. under President Eisenhower, in his acceptance speech for the Einstein Peace Prize in 1981, had this to say about U.S. responsibilities:

...we must remember that it has been we Americans who, at almost every step of the road, have taken the lead in the development of (nuclear) weaponry. It was we who

first produced and tested such a device; we who were the first to raise its destructiveness to a new level with the hydrogen bomb; we who introduced the multiple warhead; we who have declined every proposal for the renunciation of the principal of "first use;" and we alone, so help us God, who have used the weapon in anger against others, and against tens of thousands of helpless non-combatants at that.

The typing of this article has been interrupted from time to time for wren-watching: this is the day for the nestlings in our yard to (literally) try their wings as the parents sing encouragement nearby. The first child appears in the doorway, hardly hesitating before it swoops confidently to a tall stake in our tomato patch. From there, it watches while Number Two emerges, seems to lose its balance, clings frantically to the side of the little house--and scrambles back in. Soon a third--or is it the second again?--pokes its head out, looks up at green leaves and blue sky, down at grass and earth. Urgent melody from Mother and Father. Baby makes it to the closest perch and flutters timidly to the ground as another sibling's head fills the small hole. This one must have been impatient to enter the world: it flies straight away as a fourth new wren moves into view.

This story, like many true tales, has no climactic ending. The last of this year's babies (we have never known the wren house to hold four until now) is taking a long time to think things over. Sooner or later, though, it will become clear that no more food will be delivered and the choice between starvation and action will be easy. One year, a reluctant one stayed in the familiar dark all day, but by the following morning it, too, had flown.

I find myself describing this without quite knowing why. Am I equating the fledglings with people who are venturing, perhaps for the first time in their lives, to help democracy work?

Or am I, with a sharpened awareness that the earth can be totally destroyed, simply more sensitive than usual to its natural wonders? Perhaps readers can draw their own conclusions and find their own metaphors in the story of four tiny birds moving, at varying speeds, from security into the unknown.

Katherine Schwartz is co-chairperson of the South Suburban Nuclear Freeze Committee. She has been an active supporter of the Flossmoor Village Library and she has worked for 15 years as a volunteer reader for Recording For The Blind, Inc.



photograph by K. Schwartz

A further word about SSNFC:

It is made up of more than 150 persons from 21 communities: Blue Island, Calumet City, Chicago, Chicago Heights, Crete, Flossmoor, Frankfort, Hazel Crest, Hometown, Homewood, Kankakee, Matteson, Mokena, Monee, Oak Forest, Olympia Fields, Park Forest, Park Forest South, Richton Park, South Holland, Steger.

General meetings are held once a month, alternating between afternoons and evenings.

If you are interested in joining, have questions, or wish to make any kind of contribution, please call

Fran Marcus	799-5233 (Homewood)
Priscilla Rockwell	748-8905 (Olympia Fields)
Katherine Schwarz	798-5332 (Flossmoor)



Rita Durrant and Caryl Chudwin

College After 30: A Handbook For Adult Students by Caryl Chudwin and Rita Durrant (Contemporary Books, Chicago) is a guide for persons wishing to complete a long delayed education. The book is filled with some of the paths and pitfalls that the over 30 group may encounter

as they seek their higher education. Also included are interviews with present or former students whose experiences may help to cut a path through the academic jungle. (Ms. Durrant has long been involved with The Creative Woman and serves on our Advisory Council).

by Lee Shumer



DAMARISCOTTA BAPTIST CHURCH

On June 12, 1982 New York City experienced a huge rally protesting the manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons. In sympathy, thousands of American communities joined by holding their own peace vigils. In Damariscotta, a small town on the Maine coast, about a hundred persons gathered in front of the Baptist Church on a grassy triangle, a tiny park dedicated as a War Memorial. The American flag flew above the old Civil War cannon, whose mouth was filled with lilacs. (Spring blooms late in Maine!)

Some folks had brought folding chairs, some were standing and chatting, most of us sat on the grass. Clergymen spoke to us of our dedication to life, for ourselves and our children, of our heritage, of our beliefs. Robin Tucker beautifully sang her own composition, "Silent Child". At twelve noon the bells of all four churches began to toll and we were silent for fifteen minutes, feeling at one with all the thousands of hoping, praying vigil keepers throughout our country. Even the small children were quiet, listening to the bells.

At the end, Robin led us all in singing "Aint Gonna Study War No More" ...and we went on our way.

SILENT CHILD

by Robin Tucker

Darkness surrounding,
dying in the air,
A little girl lay weeping,
crying in despair.
She cries out!
Where is the sunlight?
the trusted warmth I knew?
But there's no one to hear her,
and nothing we can do.

So aren't you proud
That we're the strongest?
We have the might
To go to war.
But we're insecure
And we'll continue
To build the arms
So we can kill more.

The wind's lonely howling,
the child is heard no more.
The world slowly turning,
barren to the core.
Heed to the warning
that fears our enemy.
Realize we're of one world,
sharing a destiny.

We're too proud
That we're the strongest.
We have the might
To go to war.
And we're insecure
So we'll continue
To build the arms
Until we are no more.

"IS PEACE POSSIBLE IN THE PATRIARCHY?"

by Jane Kennedy

I remember a wise man saying, "There has always been war and there will always be war." It is useless to insist the man is wrong. Any history book will support the first part of his statement. As to the second part, as long as the patriarchy continues, so will war. Why? Because it is the ultimate level of dominance. Of course there is dominance exerted by men over women in individual relationships; and yes there is dominance in any hierarchical structure. Certainly the Roman Catholic Church is not relinquishing its requirement that women submit whether the issue is abortion, birth control or who can be priests.

Women are required to be submissive in the workplace, for we continue to earn a 59 cent dollar.

Nor are we going to be equal under the Constitution of The United States; the ERA appears to be , for this year, a lost cause.

The advertisement that reads, "you've come a long way, baby," fails to add the obvious: "And we're not letting you go any farther".

In our time it is clear that men continue the attempt to dominate women even though women increasingly are resisting their submissive role. Indeed, our resistance may increase the force of their control mechanisms (see, for example, the Hatch Act).

But the patriarchy is constructed in such a way that the every-day domination of women is not very exciting after the male reaches age 20. The patriarch needs a stronger test of his ability to win. To win one must attack, and attack skills are sharpened in certain places--woman abuse, pornography and harassment on the job among them. These activities humiliate us, all of us. In an attempt to mitigate this shared humiliation

the patriarchy turns outward seeking victory and a restored sense of dominance through war.

Power, the ability to compel obedience, is a characteristic of the male in our society. But dominance is a bottomless cup requiring continuous feeding. Dominance requires submission which feeds the need for more dominance requiring more submission. Satiation is never achieved. Like the men in the Story of O, never could they humiliate her enough, each act more depraved than the one before.

War is the wide screen version of the home movie, the act of attempted destruction of other nations of men with comparable power and need to dominate, an enemy so much like themselves that victory proves their superiority. And thus ultimate assurance wipes out all lingering doubt of self worth until the next time.

Is peace possible in the patriarchy? For five years or a decade, possibly. For an extended period of time? No. Somewhere in the world one will find the patriarchs deeply involved in their one permanent mistress, war. The love affair has lasted at least two thousand years.

(Jane Kennedy is a nurse who has gone to prison twice for anti-war activities. She is presently on the faculty of St. Xavier College in Chicago, Il.)

The PEACE MUSEUM

In response to the build-up of nuclear arms and the ever-growing threat of nuclear war, the peace movement has been gaining strength in recent months, both in Europe and in the United States. The same fears and concerns which have sparked peace demonstrations around the world have also led to the opening of a new museum--The Peace Museum, which is the first museum of its kind in this nation.

Located on Chicago's near North side, The Peace Museum is a unique institution dedicated to providing peace education through the visual, literary and performing arts. In addition to exhibits, The Peace Museum offers a Resource Center, films, lectures and educational outreach programs.

The Peace Museum was founded by Marjorie Benton, the U.S. Representative to UNICEF, and Mark Rogovin, a Chicago mural painter who spent six years working to make The Peace Museum a reality. Although issues of war and peace had been explored in the past through a variety of disciplines, both Benton and Rogovin felt that the arts had not been fully tapped as a means of promoting peace. Both recognized how powerfully the arts could communicate the horrors of war, how richly they could express the visions and dreams of peace, how deeply they could touch and inspire.

The museum's first exhibit was Against The Wall: Three Centuries Of Posters on War And Peace, which more than 3,000 people viewed during the two months that it was on display. The exhibit featured posters from 20 nations and spanned 300 years of history, from the French Revolution to the present. Included in the exhibit were posters created by Pablo Picasso, Ben Shahn, Kathe Kollwitz and other artists, as well as posters created by students,

workers, peace and political groups, religious organizations, children and veterans. More than 700 people attended the exhibit's grand opening, and many of them came with posters of their own to add to The Peace Museum's collection.

The Peace Museum is particularly interested in reaching young people with its message that peace is not a platitude, but an imperative, and during the month of March this year, The Peace Museum sponsored an essay and poster contest for high school students in Chicago. The students were asked to either design a poster calling for an end to the nuclear arms race, or to pretend that they just won the Nobel Peace Prize and write an essay describing what they did to win the award. Essays and posters submitted for the contest will be displayed at The Peace Museum in June.

The display during April and May was an exhibit called Daumier to Doonesbury: Cartoons and Caricatures on War and Peace. In August, the museum will launch its most important 1982 exhibit--The Unforgettable Fire: Drawings by Hiroshima Survivors. The drawings are being lent to the museum by the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and have never before left Japan. The Unforgettable Fire will open at The Peace Museum on August 6, Hiroshima Day, and the exhibit will run for four months.

Mark Rogovin, the museum's curator, says that the public's response to the opening of The Peace Museum has been "incredible." Almost every day people come to the museum's staff with material they feel belongs in the center, with suggestions for future shows and special programs, with offers to help in whatever way they can.

Rogovin says that he has already received requests for information

from people in other states who are interested in founding similar museums.

The Peace Museum, funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and private contributions is open from noon to 5 p.m. Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays; noon to 8 p.m. Thursdays; 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Saturdays

Admission is free, but donations are accepted.

The Peace Museum
364 W. Erie St. Chicago, Il. 60610
312-440-1860



Fritz Eichenberg

The PEACE MUSEUM
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AUGUST 6 - NOV 30
Hiroshima—
The Unforgettable Fire:
Drawings and Paintings
by Survivors

CHILDREN'S BOOKS ABOUT WAR &
PEACE

Selected for THE PEACE MUSEUM by
Ginny Moore Kruse

THE BOMB

Coerr, Eleanor. Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes. Paintings by Ronald Himler. Putman, 1977. 64 pages. \$7.95 (also in Dell Yearling paperback)

Acting according to an old belief, a Japanese child folds over 900 paper cranes to escape death from radiation-caused leukemia she suffers twelve years after the bombing of Hiroshima. Although the child dies, her memory and story live through a well-known monument in Hiroshima's Peace Park. (ages 9-14)

Lifton, Betty Jean. Return to Hiroshima. Photographs by Eikoh Hosoe. Atheneum, 1970. 92 pages.

Information about Hiroshima is presented in words and black and white photos. Survivors were interviewed. Both the destruction and the reconstruction are presented. (ages 12-adult)

THE HOLOCAUST

Janssen, Pierre. A Moment of Silence. Translated from the Dutch by Wm. R. Tyler. Photographs by Hans Samson. Atheneum, 1970. 58 pages. \$4.25.

The WWII occupation of Holland is compassionately described through the heroic acts and tragic suffering portrayed in war memorials and publicly displayed sculpture located throughout the nation. Janssen, a Dutch fine arts professor, was nineteen when the war ended. This is his personal statement. (ages 10-adult)



Miltzer, Milton. Never to Forget; The Jews of the Holocaust. Harper & Row, 1976. 217 pages. \$10.95.

A detailed account of Holocaust events divided into three sections: History of Hatred, Destruction of the Jews, and Spirit of Resistance. Maps, a chronology, source documentation and extensive bibliography. (ages 12-adult)

Richter, Hans Peter. Friedrich. Translated from German by Edite Kroll. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970. 149 pages.

Told from the perspective of a German, non-Jewish boy, this novel details the subtle erosion of his friendship with Friedrich, his neighbor. Won the 1972 Batchelder Award given by American Library Association for best children's book published in U.S. in translation. (ages 12-adult)

Volavkova', Hana. ...I Never Saw Another Butterfly; Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camp 1942-1944.

Edited by Hana Volavkova'.
Translated into English by
Jeanne Nemcova'. McGraw Hill,
1964. 80 pages.

Materials by children from the
archives of the State Jewish
Museum in Prague document end-
less queues and funeral carts
as well as memories of nature
and freedom of some of the
15,000 children who passed
through Terazin. (ages 14-adult)

VIETNAM

Lifton, Betty Jean. Children of
Vietnam. Photographs by
Thomas Fox. Atheneum, 1972.
118 pages. \$5.95.

Individual suffering, confusion,
fear, and sorrow are communicated
in photographs of and interviews
with children in Vietnam in the
early 1970s. (ages 12-adult)

Tran-Khanh-Tuyet. The Little
Weaver of Thai-Yen Village.
Illustrated by Nancy Hom.
Translated by C. N.H. Jenkins
and Tran-Khanh-Tuyet. Told in
English & Vietnamese. Children's
Book Press/Imprenta de Libros
Infantiles, 1977. 26 pages. \$2.95.

A lively, happy Vietnamese child
lives with her mother and grand-
mother within the love of those
she knows and the beauty of the
Vietnamese countryside. After
war comes to her village and her
family is killed, she is brought
to the U.S. for medical treatment.
Her homesickness and commitment
to her people lead her to weave
blankets to send to Vietnam.
(ages 6-10)



THE FUTILITY OF WAR

Davies, Andrew. Conrad's War.
Crown, 1980. 120 pages.
\$7.95. (also in Dell paperback)

A young teens fantasies about
war games help him discover that
war's glories and adventures are
not what they appear. Set in
England, Conrad's War won the
Guardian Award in 1978 and the
Boston Globe-Horn Book Award in
1980. (ages 12 and older)

Emberly, Barbara. Drummer Hoff.
Illustrated by Ed Emberly.
Prentice-Hall, 1967. 32 pgs.
\$8.95. Available in paperback.

A cumulative folk rhyme about
the loading and firing of a
cannon carries a scondary theme
of war's futility. The colorful
graphics were cited in 1968 by
the Caldicott Award Committee.
(ages 4-8)

Zim, Jacob. My Shalom, My Peace;
Paintings & Poems by Jewish
And Arab Children. Edited
& designed by Jacob Zim.
Poem selection by Uriel Ofek.
Translation by Dov Vardi.
McFraw Hill, 1975. 96 pages.

Poems and paintings on theme of
peace by over 100 children. (ages 9 & up)

WAR IS NO GAME: PUBLIC ACTION
COALITION ON TOYS

by Victoria Reiss (adapted)

New York City is the center of the toy industry. At the annual Toy Fair, which takes place in late February, over 6000 buyers make their major purchase commitments for the following Christmas. It has always been our conviction that violent toys should never reach the store shelves, especially since one-third of the toys bought are purchased by children themselves. And there is often no guidance for their selection.

Each year we have helped "open" the Toy Fair with a well-publicized protest demonstration against toys that make violence seem like fun. We urge toymakers to create toys that will help children to build a better, more peaceful world--a world that does not reflect and perpetuate the violence in our present society. This is what sadistic toys, guns and war toys certainly do.

In 1975 PACT awarded its first annual Toy Awards to manufacturers who marketed toys that were safe, nonviolent, non-sexist and non-exploitative. The awards were given to:

- Teaching Concepts, Inc., for their games Space Hop, Super Sandwich and Read Around.
- Milton Bradley Company for its stand-up figures, Our Helpers.
- Childcraft for its Toys by Antonio Vitali.
- Bell Records for the long-playing record, "Free to Be, You and Me."
- Instructo for its Non-Sexist Community Careers Flannel Board Set.
- Questor Education Products Co. for its Giant Tinkertoy.
- Child Guidance for the Anything Muppet.
- Parker Brothers for its Con Struct-o-Straws.
- Fisher-Price Toys for its Play Family Sesame Street.

In addition to demonstrations and awards you as a consumer and concerned adult can help. When you shop and see

toys that you consider harmful, speak up. Express your opinion. It will make a difference. Just a handful of women working within PACT have convinced Nabisco Co. to discontinue a violent toy and Marx was once persuaded to stop making toy guns. (Unfortunately, Marx, under new ownership is making guns again.) With over 30,000 gun deaths a year in our country, it's high time we stopped making a gun a plaything.

We have become a violent society. Unless we change human behavior, we will destroy our way of life. We cannot be satisfied to model for children easy solutions for difficult human problems. It is a time for all of us to be creative. We need more toys for sharing and caring and not for scaring.

Victoria Reiss was the organizer of No War Toys and Parents for Responsibility in the Toy Industry, precursors of PACT. Ms. Reiss is the mother of three and lives in New York City.



Women peacemakers at work



Randall Fursberg
Originator of the nuclear freeze
proposal.



Shirley Lens
Founder of Chicago Women for
Peace: 1961-1982



Dr. Helen Caldicott
Author of *Nuclear Madness* and
President of Physicians for Social
Responsibility



working
for
peace
and
justice



CLERGY AND LAITY CONCERNED:
IN PURSUIT OF PEACE AND JUSTICE

by Joan Elbert

"Peace is not simply the absence of war, but also the presence of justice."

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Co-founder of CALC

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) is an action-oriented interfaith peace and justice organization--a nationwide network of men and women called to social action by religious faith and ethical principles.

CALC, in its early years known as Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, was founded in the mid-sixties as an outcry against United States intervention in Southeast Asia. The founding fathers--and indeed that's what they were--included such activist leaders as William Sloan Coffin, John Bennett, Rabbi Abraham Heschel, Phil Berrigan and George Webber. They called upon Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to be the keynote speaker at the founding conference, and it was at Riverside Church in New York City, April 4, 1967, that Dr. King made one of his first public speeches opposing the Vietnam War.*

Richard Fernandez, a United Church of Christ minister was hired as Director. Fernandez is an energetic, persuasive person who soon raised enough

money to start chapters all across the country charged with the task of developing opposition to the war within the religious community. The organization was dedicated to the principles of non-violent resistance, but is not pacifist. This is a rather subtle and sophisticated distinction and a position that the organization has been struggling with for years. This philosophic position enabled us to maintain a broad based constituency.

Key to the early growth of CALC were the dedicated young people who staffed the chapters. Many of them were seminarians, conscientious objectors and draft resisters. Local steering committees were set up, and in many places draft counseling became an important part of the work. This was certainly appropriate for our group because so many young men were not pacifist or from traditionally pacifist denominations, but truly objected to the war in Vietnam on moral grounds.

Following the general practice of the day, the steering committees were mostly made up of men. Soon, however, women were called in to do the work, many of them housewives and mothers who volunteered for the usual tasks of getting out mailings and making phone calls for meetings and demonstrations.

Along with the overall repugnancy to the war itself was the growing awareness of the immoral weapons being developed and used. CALC became deeply involved in the campaign against Honeywell, the Minneapolis based corporation famous for manufacturing excellent thermostats and cameras, and later production of anti-personnel fragmentation bombs, some of the most diabolical weapons used in the war, and, to this day, maiming the people of Indochina.

Two significant things happened to the organization during this period: people were gaining a more fundamental understanding of the nature of the war and the role of the multi-national corporations, and women were playing a much more

active and decisive role. By the time the last American pulled out of Vietnam in 1975, CALC had developed a unique political and theological perspective as well as a rather well-informed, progressive constituency.

Fernandez was no longer director of the New York office and many of the "founding fathers" on the national board had moved on to other agendas. Two staff women with the Minneapolis chapter, veterans of the Honeywell project, threw out a challenge to the CALC national network to become more democratic in its decision making process and to involve its grassroots constituency in policy making. During an emotional weekend in Jefferson City, Missouri, in the hot summer of 1976, issues of sexism and elitism within the organization were confronted by members from all across the country.

A committee of people representing various viewpoints was set up to try to resolve the philosophical and structural differences. Interestingly, the committee members were all women. After eight months of intensive and sometimes painful struggle, this group presented a proposal to the national membership that was accepted with only minor changes. The women felt as if they had literally given birth to a new organization--an organization now run by the regions rather than the New York office. There was now representation by active, if lesser known, local people and decisions were made by consensus.

CALC today is still struggling with process and politics, but I believe these struggles have contributed to the vitality of the organization. Today there are 42 chapters and affiliates in 29 states. We are striving to become more multi-racial and have developed a third world caucus to keep us honest in that pursuit. One of the co-directors is Maryknoll sister, Barbara Lupo, who spent 14 years working with the poor of the Philippines. The regional representative from Atlanta is a native Southerner who has used her

understanding of the Bible belt to organize chapters in very conservative areas. The woman who staffs the Los Angeles chapter spent three weeks several summers ago driving through the Great Basin area of the West, stopping in every small town, looking through the Yellow Pages and calling on clergy to organize against the building of the M-X missile there.

Most women in the organization would describe themselves as feminists and all have certainly brought a feminist perspective to their work. CALC is committed as an organization to being in process non-sexist, non-racist and non-hierarchical. CALC has gone past the strong male dominance with sexist job divisions so common within peace and justice organizations in the 60s. Women, exercising full participation within CALC, have led the movement to include the laity in leadership roles.

Because CALC believes that accurate information is a prerequisite in motivating the American people to action, education has become a fundamental organizational priority.

CALC's four major program areas are: Human Security--Peace and Jobs (militarism, The Freeze Campaign, draft registration); Human Rights (multi-national corporations, South Africa, El Salvador); the Politics of Food (Nestles' Boycott, agribusiness); and Legacies of Vietnam (veterans' issues, normalization of relations). CALC makes available a variety of films, slide shows, speakers and written materials in each of these program areas. Through this educational program CALC works toward increasing the public's awareness of the critical work for peace and justice that needs to be done. It hopes that this resulting increased awareness will be translated into concrete action.

"When they arrested disarmament demonstrators, I was silent. When they arrested Black political leaders, I was silent..

When they arrested members of
solidarity groups, I was silent.
When they arrested Native American
activists, I was silent.
When they arrested socialists and
anti-capitalists, I was silent.
When they arrested radical clergy,
I was silent.
And when they arrested me, there
was none left to speak.

-Adapted from Martin Niemoller,
1945

*(Joan Elbert serves on the National
Steering Committee of CALC, on the
Maywood Commission on Human Relations,
and on the Advisory Board of the
Lutheran Coalition on South Africa.
She has travelled on fact-finding
missions to Nicaragua and in 1981
to Vietnam & Kaupuchea.)*

**This spring, CALC reprinted that
speech along with comments by Anne
Braden and Robert McAfee Brown. It
is amazingly prophetic and current.*



XL



Sci Fi Flic

Fascinated
we peer beyond the brink
feasting on our doom
putting safely into fantasies
our end
as though we might
castrate
this looming figure
scythe in hand.

We are innocents tottering
toward the fire
enchanted
with its cheery light.

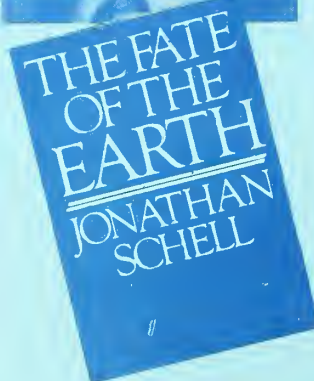
Joan Barchard Lewis





U.S. Air Force

American nuclear-bomb test (1957): There is no such thing as 'winnability'



THE FATE OF THE EARTH
by Jonathan Schell. (Knopf, 1982)

Reviewed by Elizabeth Ohm

To attempt a review of Jonathan Schell's book seems presumptuous.

Rather, one feels one should be out knocking on doors, organizing meetings, doing whatever is required to "reinvent the world," as Schell so harshly but realistically puts it.

We have been given the challenge before, of course. Since that late summer day in 1945 when the city of Hiroshima faced eternity, intermittent if somewhat isolated voices have warned us of the perils of the atom. Is it a sign of some basic but deadly optimism, of our inability to comprehend the "incomprehensible," or only that we couldn't be bothered, that we have failed to pay much attention?

Perhaps we just need to have the situation spelled out in terms we cannot ignore.

Jonathan Schell does just that. He has several points to make, and the very first is as chilling as any of the others—that is, that knowledge cannot be reversed. Human beings have learned to split the atom. They have learned to make (and in fact now have in place) weapons capable of annihilating all unborn generations. And this knowledge cannot

be stuffed back into the can and sealed up. We must live with it, or die by it.

His second point is hardly a point at all. It is, quite simply a word painting, brush stroke on brush stroke, of our desolate and wasted earth after nuclear holocaust--with the matter-of-fact reminder that, of course, no one will actually see the scene since no one will survive. And lest his description provoke the argument that he is too pessimistic, Schell readily admits that in case of nuclear war "the adversaries may not use all their weapons... the global effects may be moderate... the ecosphere may prove resilient." But at the same time he reminds us that "although the risk...may be fractional, the stake is...infinite, and a fraction of infinity is still infinity...if we lose, the game will be over..."

The graphic and extended description of a devastated post-nuclear earth, horror piled on horror, leads to a discussion of what Schell calls "the second death!" And this is no less than the death of humankind. For included in the general destruction is the complete breakdown of all our life support systems, the shattering of ecosystems not fully understood but which combine to support all life. We are presented with a picture of a few hypothetical survivors after a holocaust: "Sitting among the debris of the Space Age, they would find that the pieces of a shattered modern economy around them--here an automobile, there a washing machine--were mismatched to their elemental needs."

The bomb-like effect of The Fate of the Earth may well consist in the way the author piles effect on effect in a narrative style, never screamingly, never emotionally--but the screaming arises within us as we read. For the meaning of extinction--the death of the future as opposed to our own individual deaths, is made appallingly clear. And in this, perhaps, is a partial explanation of our seeming apathy in the thirty-

seven years since the peril was made known. We all know we must die, so what does it matter to us what happens after that? Isn't the "second death" redundant? "What is it to me?"

But what it is to me, and to you, aside from the moral obligation we must feel to generations yet unborn--never to be born if we allow that one horrendous mistake--is the purpose of our humanity. Schell draws on Arendt, on Kafka, Gandhi, Edmund Burke and Pericles, as well as a host of others, to remind us that our only immortality is in future generations. All art, music, literature, knowledge of any kind, are useless and pointless if they are not to be handed on as a part of the "common world" we share, in a partnership of generations both past and future.

The Fate of the Earth, in spite of its urgent message, is neither a polemic nor an overt emotional appeal (only in the last few pages does the author allow himself to use the word "love"). Instead the book is an example of erudition, of scholarship, of use of the language that any writer may well envy. And except that its subject is so grave, so personal, it also reads like a thriller--all the way through we wait breathlessly to see what the solution is for we sense that he does offer a solution, however difficult.

I will skip over, though the reader should not, the relentlessly logical progression of arguments that show that war and national sovereignty, are no longer options in the survival scheme. The point is, as Schell says, that "in the nuclear world survival has, for the first time, become an act...formerly, the future was simply given to us; now it must be achieved." For those who insist that, realistically, national sovereignty ("patriotism") will never be given up, he replies, "political realism is not biological realism, it is biological nihilism--and for that reason is, of course, political

nihilism, too..."--a repetition of the point he makes with chilling thoroughness throughout, that without living beings to experience them, human aspirations, or even sufferings, will never exist.

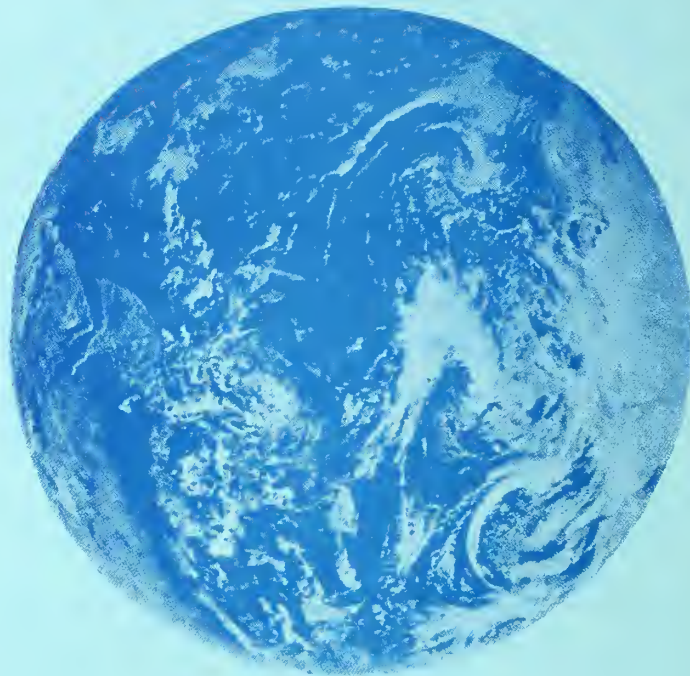
(Elizabeth Ohm is an active member of The Creative Woman Advisory Council and works as Administrative Librarian for the Park Forest Library.)



So--the solution? Knowledge is the deterrent. (Shades of Thomas Jefferson?) If all of us know the direction we are taking, and its inevitable consequence (sooner or later), then self-interest will compel us to stop, dig in our heels, and "reinvent politics: reinvent the world" in a one-world mold. "With the world itself at stake, all differences would by definition be 'internal' differences...for who would be the enemy?"

In the meanwhile, we must effect a freeze on further nuclear deployment, a reduction in nuclear arms, dismantling of present arsenals, and continuous negotiations on disputes no matter what the circumstances. "The dilemma of the nation that in order to protect its national sovereignty finds that it must put the survival of mankind at risk is a trap from which there is no escape as long as nations possess arsenals of nuclear weapons. The deterrence doctrine seeks to rationalize this state of affairs, but it fails, because at the crucial moment it requires nations to sacrifice mankind for their own interests--an absurdity as well as a crime beyond reckoning."

Evolution, Schell says, was slow to produce us, but our extinction will be swift. It will be over, literally, before we know it--no one will ever witness it. "Two paths lie before us. One leads to death, the other to life... One day--and it is hard to believe it will not be soon--we will make our choice." It is up to each of us to decide the fate of the earth and the life upon it.





NOT ONE BUT TWO: REPETITION
AND IDENTITY IN GERTRUDE STEIN

by Elizabeth Fifer

By the time Gertrude Stein finished The Making of Americans in 1911, repetition was a central component in her stylistic repertoire. Repetition freed Stein from the responsibility of content and awakened a sense of restored possibilities. Repetition, like a double-edged sword, could pare away the cover of secrecy even as it drew attention to the surface

of the text and, consequently, away from its author. For repetition had the advantage of appearing to be self-generating--unendingly, and with seeming arbitrariness, repetition evolved new forms. (1) Such writing could, in its extreme, appear authorless, disembodied, "letting notion repetition dictate divine." (2)

The catalogue of effects of "In Narrative", given below, displays the range of her purposes. It should be noted that Stein's third person plural pronoun here refers both to her readers and to her own relationship with Alice B. Toklas.

Reflect the behavior of their undertaking
undertaking understanding understanding
disobliging disobliging representing
representing realising realising authorising
authorising reduplicating reduplicating
referring referring indicating indicating
considering considering attracting attracting
defending defending doubling doubling
sheltering sheltering replying replying
mentioning mentioning deliberating deliberating
unifying unifying declaring declaring unattaching
unattaching determining determining likening it
to them.

Characteristically this passage links the act of love with the act of writing. More importantly, it carefully provides a list of the major functions of Stein's repetition. Her way of paying tribute to these functions is to repeat them, but this insistence inevitably wrestles with her syntax, thus "disobliging" her reader. She "re-presents" the word, which is "made real" and brought to greater consciousness by granting "authority" to the word's physical presence. Not only is the word more "real" when it is "reflected", and reflected on, several times, but with each repetition, it becomes specifically "authorized," more specifically the author's choice, while reciprocally enhancing her role as "author." "Reduplication" makes repetition multiple, where it "refers to", considers," and "attracts" ever more words. Since repetition affords more sensuous attention to the word, stressing the sound of the word itself, it can "indicate" the word in all its aspects. In this process of association, the word "attract" sounds so much like "attack," for instance, that its opposite, "defense," is "attracted" to it. "Sheltered" from unthinking use by repetition, each word "replies" to its author by "mentioning" its own name, so that each singular "it" becomes a "them." Repetition is like love in that both offer ways in which the disparate bits of experience can be fused together.

In How to Write (1931), from her mature "middle period," Stein's narrative technique, although allowing for aesthetic, scientific, and even philosophical insights, is often based on what she considered the intrinsic beauty of certain repeated words, phrases, and sentences. Her specific goal at this time in her life was to free herself from the necessities of "plot" and meaningful "statement," whose sequence and suspense she saw as distractions, renouncing the present and thus diminishing its importance (HTW, p. 293). The object of artistic meditation, physically present within each separate moment of expression, is isolated, incomparable, and

nonreferential.(3)

In Stein's view, repetition provided a technique for combining words in sequences without denying their essential uniqueness. She pursued a prose style whose methods and content would almost indistinguishably intertwine. Taking words out of their original syntax and transforming them in repetition, Stein could both emphasize their difference, and continue to insist on the interrelatedness of all being. This "mystical element" of repetition makes a sentence more than the sum of its parts.

What is the difference when they are all alike. There is this difference. They are all alike...

It does not make any difference with what they are all alike...forget the difference between arithmetic and a noun.

HTW,pp.143-4; 152

Much of the energy of these aesthetic convictions comes from Stein's alternately revealing and concealing secrets about her sexual life. Repetition is another opportunity both to declaim and conceal her homosexuality, believing that "a sentence makes it be palatable" (HTW, p. 210), reasoning that "like makes likes" (HTW, p. 210), and that the reader, also, will take "pleasure in pairs" (HTW,p. 352). In the humorous style that Stein often uses when being most serious, she reminds us that even syntax and grammar are sexual; the speaker's breath caresses every sentence. Grammar, being just another social more, falsely stereotypes and limits experience by limiting the speaker's individual expressive possibilities. Learning about repetition, Stein argued, is another way of learning about the body. Exploring the various nuances of the repeated word is like exploring the variety possible in the sexual act.

"A sentence is with their liking to do it slowly. With their liking to do it slowly they allow themselves to advance" (HTW, p. 133). In such ways, the energy involved in sexual play transfers itself to a design for repetition and word play.

There are two kinds of sentences. When they go. They are given to me. There are these two kinds of sentences. Whenever they go they are given to me. There are these two kinds of sentences there. One kind is when they like and the other kind is as often as they please.

HTW, p. 149

Here Stein's almost stuttering repetition both incorporates the intractability of speech and propels the message about personal freedom. The same sense of mastery used in asserting her own sexuality puts pressure on her intellectual life as well: "A sentence is made by coupling" (HTW, p. 115).

Bridgman has stressed Stein's fearful persona⁽⁴⁾ as both an obsession and a release. Her fears and curiosities drive her to bring up subconscious material in a habit of mind formed by physical impulse, a hypnotic, trancelike exploration.⁽⁵⁾ If we accept this, then the very act of repetition itself can be seen as the necessary springboard for Stein's creative impulses. Denied their expected structure and syntax, the secrets in her sentences lose their "familiarity" and can pass the "uninitiated" reader by almost unnoticed. By insisting that words are not ideas but noises, and that "a sentence should not refer" (HTW, p. 95), she can turn back any threat of self-exposure. Relying on the principle that repetition is inherently pleasing, "like" making "likes," "dependent entirely upon how one word follows another" (HTW, p. 108-9), she finds a way to avoid paralysis when confronted with her own ambiguous

feelings. "Unattaching" words from their proper places and usual connotations, she can avoid "discovery" even as she uncovers her most fearful secrets.

In a very specific and peculiar way, repetition is more than Stein's chosen medium of expression--it constitutes her message itself. For doubleness is not just the gilding of the stylistic surface, it is the core of her identity and the engine of her awareness. The repeated word reveals a "repeated self," a double, a pair of twinned protagonists. This double, whether conceived of as an alter ego--who does what the self wishes to do, but cannot--or as a biological or physiological "twin," is a symbol of the divided self, and reappears continually in Stein's work,⁽⁶⁾ both early and late in her career. If Two:Gertrude Stein and Her Brother (1910-12)⁽⁷⁾ concerns "two" becoming "one," again retells Stein's break with her brother, Ida (1940)⁽⁸⁾ concerns "one" becoming "two" in rediscovered marriage and love. The repeated personal pairings in both these books, as elsewhere in Stein, function as the psychological equivalent of repetition. This is strikingly the case in Two, where word-splitting and recombining announced the end of Stein's period of dependency upon her brother Leo's authority and her movement from the sound of his voice to the sound of hers. Only by repeating herself, Stein insists, could she overcome his actual as well as his psychological deafness. Ida's narrator also is typical in her need to be divided before she can gain completeness. She progresses from her recognition of loneliness, to suddenly discovering her "twin," to becoming known through her, to enjoying that renown, to rejecting her twin by refusing to mention her, to overcoming her hesitancy about alliances and finding the comfort of intimate association. Significantly, Stein inserts one of her own traumatic "failed pairings" into

Ida's list of suitors--Leon Solomons, whom Stein had romantic thoughts about, but who died in his early twenties from an infection he contracted during a laboratory experiment.⁽⁹⁾ If the emphasis in Two is on non-communication and fragmentation in relationship, then the emphasis in Ida is on talking, moving, learning again the necessary subsuming of the self to the other in intimacy. Even in such opposing works as these, the basic relationships between people consistently reveal themselves in duality and doubleness.

The progress in Two is dependent on the shift of the narrator's time perspective from an undifferentiated being, to the perception of two similar beings, to the complete differentiation of female from male--the killing of the false double. Though Stein's words are fused in pairs by repetition, like Siamese twins, her book is meant to present an actual experience of extricating flesh from flesh, of disassociation from one body to promote the possibility of union with another. The unmistakably erotic form of Two lies in its choral bursts and its fugal variations, its symphonic repetition; it is a full-voiced hymn of "repeated" lives. Stein uses repetition of words and phrases to essentially dismantle Leo when she unmakes the "him" and remakes the "her" with the same linguistic blocks.

If one is one and one is
not one of the two then
is one and being one is
not one of the two....

There were two. The two
were he and she. She was
one. He was one. There
were two. There were he
and she.

I. p. 100

Repetition is more than mere ornament of affectation--it is the groundwork of Stein's reality and perception.

Like most of her early portraits, Two progresses slowly. Its novella length, however, lets Stein use repetition to help the reader share a direct experience of separation: confusion, backsliding, realiances, further splinterings, the words duplicating and reduplicating until they finally go their own way for "her" and for "him." (10)

Although Ida, written more than a quarter-century later, belongs to a period of consolidation and success in Stein's life, it, too, takes doubleness and repeated identity as its central theme. Winnie, Ida's "twin," is her mysterious double, but more "visible," more desirable to men. She comes to serve Ida during a period of loneliness when Ida cannot seem to make contact with the outside world. Winnie is Ida's mirrored shield, not the hated self of Two but a beautiful and admired "winning" double. If Ida does not approve of what she is doing she can blame her actions on Winnie, who conveniently disappears when her presence is not wanted. The repeated self can encompass both the aggressive, extroverted "him" and the more passive, withdrawn "her." If this also allows for a tricking of the public, a shrouding of motives, that of course makes the situation even more attractive:

If I had a twin well nobody
would know which one I was
and which one she was.

I, p.11

Nevertheless, Ida, so intimately joined with Winnie, will have to be separated from her before she can achieve true selfhood.

The relationship is intrinsically ambiguous. Although Ida says she loves Winnie, who provides her with a liberating disguise, she is also capable of being jealous of her "other":

Nobody looked at Ida. Some of them were talking about Winnie...but really, is Winnie so interesting?

Ida was not the same as Winnie. Not at all.

I, pp.25;26

Attraction and repulsion are not opposing impulses but the two halves of the same condition. Ida learns how to integrate this "more successful self" into her own identity--for "of course there was no Winnie," I, p.26--and by being more herself, signing her name Ida-Ida. "She did have just that one name...and she liked it to stay with her" (I, p.16).

Stein's evident delight in writing disguised autobiographies and in appearing primitive and childlike is further evidence that the author shares the essential doubleness of her characters. With her typical flair for inversion, she chose the form of a "first reader" at the end of her life, in her period of greatest technical sophistication, to present a final reassessment of her double nature. The Gertrude Stein First Reader and Three Plays (1941), whatever

its title,(11) is in fact a culmination, an anthology of her obsessive roles, all of which are here played by children, often in pairs. This album of her memories and fantasies, this retrospective exhibition of her intimate moments, arranges itself into progressively more difficult "lessons" whose final items include a few short plays.

Stein insists her audience come prepared to share her passions. Approaching her "cold" in Lesson One of the First Reader, the unsympathetic reader is like an unprepared lover, or like a dog who would like to learn to read, but can't.

What did a dog care to know whether know is no, whether sew is so, whether read is

red...
it is not for him to know the difference between so and sew and sow.

GSFR, p.11

If "so and sew and sow" all indicate possible artistic methods, Stein both "knows" and "no's" the difference between them, replacing the narrative of cause and effect with a repetitive and associational structure. The reader's job, like the writer's, is not merely to connect ("so" and "sew") our memories, but to create ("sow") a dynamic new existence, and a second self.

In Lesson Three, a little boy with the suggestive name of Willy Caesar, Stein's version of her commanding male self,(12) has to defend his identity against the power of the wind:

Willy said that the wind from the West was welcome to go away if it only wanted Willy to be Willy and not Willy Caesar.

GSFR, p.19

Willy Caesar, like Stein herself, cannot present himself as a creative force ("will") without also inadvertently revealing his personal secrets--"will he seize her?" Though Stein's imperial self seems immune to public opinion, she is actually painfully vulnerable to the "stones and clatter" of the sort that affect Willy. Even Julius Caesar is capable of being "wounded"--and fatally so.

Fear of danger, dissolution, and unmasking pervade the First Reader. It is filled with prohibitions and disasters: Willy is wounded and falls, a hen thinks she's a duck, and drowns, and Oliver (O-liver), another one of Stein's paired selves, in the play "Look and Long," cowers before a female Apparition that tells him:

One of these days you will split
in two...all through.

GSFR, p.75

Oliver admits this division but vows to tie himself together with bits of string so "nobody can know...that I am not one but two" (GSFR, p.77).

For Stein, like Lucy Willow (a relative of Willy's?) in "In a Garden," the difference between the one and the two, between the self and the society, must be doubled and yet concealed. Identity does not resolve the question-- it poses it. Doubleness is our most basic nature. Lucy knows she is a "queen" even if she lacks the "crown" to prove it. She takes on the identity of the two men who come to court her, crowned as "kings"; when they die fighting for her hand she "slowly crowns herself with the double crown" of her own identity, both dilemma and accomplishment. This insurmountable doubleness is the framework of her perception:

Because Jimmie was measured by
Johnnie...because Johnnie was
measuring Jimmie, Jimmie began
to measure Johnnie and they were
so back to back...which
was Jimmie or was Johnnie
just Jimmie and was Jimmie
just Johnny...

(GSFR, p.25)

She is Jimmie and Johnnie at once, and so no external measure of the self is appropriate. Just repeating the sound of names long enough might fuse these identities, even as it confuses readers, but it can never confound the self-conscious "twice" of her being. By "doubling back" on language itself, she can escape her own internal censor, but the path she marks out will inevitably deliver her back to her own doorstep. Her sense of doubleness, of division, tells Stein who she is. Both energized and drained in this excess of "twice," the pulse of

repetition is the process of identity. Personal ambiguity is Stein's only certainty. Every life is a double life, a word said twice, a repeated world.

ENDNOTES

1. References to what Pierre Roche called "those damned repetitions" (John Malcom Brinnin, The Third Rose, Boston: Little, Brown, 1959, p.150) abound in Stein criticism. Frederick Hoffman called it "her essential strategy" (Gertrude Stein, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961, p.20) while Brinnin thought it "was bound to result in a dead end" (p.142). Stein herself rejected the term "repetition," preferring to describe her technique as "insistence":

Is there repetition or is
there insistence. I am
inclined to think there is
no such thing as repetition.
....

There can be no repetition
because the essence of that
expression is insistence, and
if you insist you must each
time use emphasis and if you
use emphasis it is not possible..
(to) use exactly the same
emphasis.

Gertrude Stein, Lectures in America
(1935; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press,
1957), pp.166-167.

2. How to Write (1931; rpt. New York: Dover, 1975), p.40; hereafter referred to parenthetically in the text as HTW.
3. For Stein, "reality lay...in the objective condition of the word-object relation in each instant," Frederick Hoffman, p.13. Donald Sutherland explains her technique of the continuous present as a way

of writing that "would take each successive moment or passage as a completely new thing essentially," Gertrude Stein: A Biography of Her Work (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), p.51.

4. Richard Bridgman, Gertrude Stein in Pieces (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), makes frequent references to Stein's anxiety; he often links it to her fear of her homosexuality being generally known or disapproved of (for example, see p.94, or the quote from Stein, p.137).
5. Norman Weinstein (Gertrude Stein and the Literature of Modern Consciousness, New York: Ungar, 1970), suggests that Gertrude Stein uses her syntax as a mantra or hypnotic religious chant (p.94); Bruce Kavin (Telling It Again and Again, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972) explains that repetition helps Stein to reach her "most immediate and inaccessible... memory...to relieve unmastered material" (p.17).
6. Bridgman writes that "it can be demonstrated that much of her writing concerns two persons, who are often at odds...Gertrude Stein saw things in twos--in pairs and opposites...Gertrude Stein's imagination readily seized simple schematic tensions such as could be expressed in pairs... (pp.xvi,9 and 27).
7. Two: Gertrude Stein and Her Brother and Other Early Portraits (1908-1912), ed. Carl Van Vechten (New Haven: Yale University Press,1951), p.22: hereafter referred to parenthetically in the text as I.
8. Ida (1941; rpt. New York: Cooper Square,1971), hereafter referred to parenthetically in the text as I.
9. In Ida the death is retold as if Ida was engaged to someone who died on the eve of the wedding.

Regarding Leon Solomons, Bridgman remarks, "the idea of an amorous attachment had at least occurred to her" (p.29).

10. Because Leo could not read her, "it destroyed him for me and it destroyed me for him" (Gertrude Stein, Everybody's Autobiography (1937 rpt., New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1971), p.77.
11. (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1948); hereafter referred to parenthetically in the text as GSFR.
12. Bridgman has defined "Caesars" in Stein's work as the erotic title for Stein herself in her relations with Alice B. Toklas; the Caesars are "masters of ceremonies for the cow" (p.152); Linda Simon links Caesar to "sexual delight" (Biography of Alice B. Toklas,1977; rpt. Avon Books, 1978, p.316).





Letters to the Creative Woman



Dear Helen,

Enclosed is a bit about our June 12 vigil* and some of my darker thoughts about the chances for peace. Almost everybody, when asked, wants peace . . . as everybody wants security, prosperity, life, "milk for babies," etcetera. But it wasn't *only* Johnson and the military who were *gung ho* in Viet Nam — a large section of the American people also supported it. And most people believe their wars are defensive wars — we've even changed the WAR Department to a more acceptable Department of Defense! People even believe that Civil Defense plans will help them escape the Soviet nuclear bombs . . . or else they refuse to think about it at all. How else can all the government rhetoric and nonsense be explained? You see, I'm really very pessimistic and believe that one idiotic error of judgment can destroy us all.

Lovingly,
Lee

* See article on page 20 (Ed.)

To the Editor,

Last May, while accompanying my husband to a Convention in New Orleans, I had an experience which underlined for me the role of women for peace. One day from the streetcar, I spotted a massive stone synagogue on Charles Avenue. I

got off and I was immediately struck by a very odd coincidence. In the front of the building, in bold letters, appeared the name of the rabbi — a female rabbi, which is not so unusual now but still rare. As I was absorbing this fact, the name became alive in my mind because it was that of a Sunday-school student of mine, whom I had taught 20 years before in Park Forest, as one of a class of extremely bright 13-year-old boys and girls.

On the following day, I attended the services and discovered that the rabbi was indeed my former student. The service was very enlightening, for she had chosen for her sermon a subject which in its simplicity may hold the key to averting destruction of the earth. Quoting Leviticus, the rabbi said that none of the lands on which the human race resides belong to any nation — all the lands, the fertile and the lean ones — belong to God, and they are not even leased to us, but men and women are merely expected to be caretakers of the land and in return receive the rich variety of food that the earth yields. If they are poor caretakers, then the food received from the earth is also poor, and in addition they fail to render the service they owe to the Super Land-Lord. If they are good caretakers, then they should by right enjoy the yield that the earth brings forth.

There is no provision in this theme of things for fighting over strips of land, such as the Falkland Islands, or the Westbank, or the Eastbank or the rich coal areas of Southeast Germany. It makes no sense at all that some people should get killed so that other people of whatever race or nationality should receive more food. Nor should enormous sums be wasted on the production of destructive weapons, for those that contemplate this wasteful production are merely inefficient caretakers.

Ursula Sklan

To the Editor:

I applaud *The Creative Woman* for devoting an issue to Peace. The acceleration of the nuclear arms race destabilizes the balance achieved by detente and increases the probability of war. People must be made to understand that war has become a likelihood, and they must be forced to deal with the implications of holocaust. Only then will disarmament begin.

People have a tendency to avoid thinking about nuclear war in concrete terms. We evade the issue, or encounter it glancingly in conversation or in the media; reducing it to abstraction. It is a reality, and will not go away until it is accepted as such. Understandably, people do not wish to dwell on the horrifying spectre of war, but only by confronting it can we save ourselves.

To give the concept of total war the priority it deserves is to become obsessed with it. Few have the imagination or the inclination to conceive, in detail, the effects of nuclear weaponry. The facts are readily available, however, and they do not present a pretty picture. Many would die instantaneously, but most would suffer for weeks, with no hope for treatment. Those in the city centers would be envied.

Dwelling on Armageddon is not brooding or pessimism, but merely objective appraisal of the contemporary world. Many of the informed authorities consider war inevitable at this point. The behaviorist B. F. Skinner recently announced that he believes the human race is doomed because of our inability to control our own destiny: people do not understand the meaning of annihilation, thus they do not act to protect their survival. Dr. Skinner may be wrong if the public becomes aware that nuclear weapons themselves are the greatest enemy.

Albert Einstein said "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking. Thus we are drifting towards a catastrophe beyond comparison. We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive." Think about it.

Dick Reiss

NICOLE MARCHEWKA-BROWN

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wind words

be naked.

speak to the moon;

for it is you who gives it light.

hang goldthick stars from your hair

with fishhooks

for fire is your only shadow.

come,

whisper to the rocks for it is time for them to dance and

breathe deeply of these words for they are fragile.



★NOTTVRNO★



EDITOR'S COLUMN

In these last few days of July, there must be hordes of women feeling as I do the sadness and depression that follows the current setback to the ERA. Now, we have to begin again. Now, once again, to make the immense effort. Theories abound on why we have failed at this point: we were politically naive, and our enemies were astute; or we self-destructed by linking ERA in many people's minds with related issues such as abortion, gay rights, or the draft. As a psychologist, I have to observe that this denial of first-class citizenship to 51% of the population can stem only from a depth of hatred and fear of women that has never been adequately grasped. Otherwise, it is incomprehensible that the rights of the majority cannot prevail in a democracy.

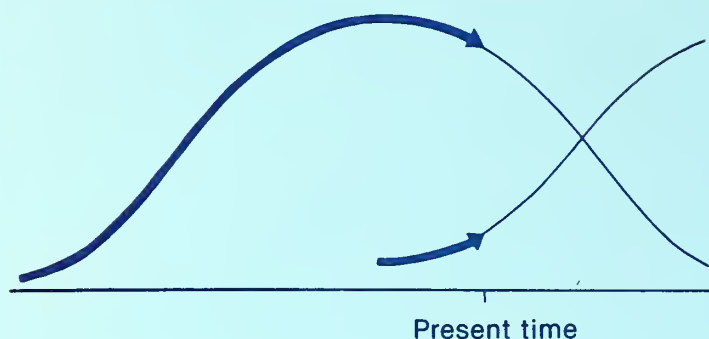
A similar depression afflicts those who--as the many writers in these pages--are trying to come to grips with the facts of nuclear politics and the incredible dangers we face. For Jonathan Schell, peace requires nothing less than the end of national sovereignty. For Jane Kennedy, peace requires nothing less than end to patriarchy. Can we "reinvent the world"?

But (on the other hand) for the founders of a National Peace Academy, peace requires us to invest the same amount of energy and treasure in the study and teaching of the arts of negotiation and conflict resolution as we have wastefully invested in the arms race. Theirs is a sober, calm, realistic view that argues for the application of what we already know. And--as we go to press, Theodore Draper, writing on "How not to think about nuclear war" in the July 15 issue of the New York Review of Books, argues for a policy of deterrence that is based on only enough striking power to prevent enemy attack--not 50,000 times that minimal sufficiency, as

we now have, and as we gear up for even more absurdly wasteful weapons. (Draper finds Schell as illogical, defeatist and delusional as the panic-mongering nuclear warriors.) There are many voices.

How do we avoid depression and confusion? How do we take a long view of the historical period we are living through? I recommend to our readers the new book by physicist Fritjof Capra, The Turning Point, as a salutary corrective; stimulating, enlarging our perspectives, and--best of all--affirming the finest instincts of feminists. Capra is best known to the general reading public for his previous book, The Tao of Physics, in which he showed how modern physics has attained insights into the nature of reality that parallel the insights of the great mystical traditions. In his latest book, Capra enlarges on that theme and develops its implications for our time. We are living through and approaching a great turning point of history, marked by three great shifts: first, "the most profound transition is due to the slow and reluctant but inevitable decline of patriarchy"; after a rule of three thousand years, this all-pervasive power is yielding to the feminist movement and the strong cultural current of our times; second, the decline of the age of fossil fuels--coal, oil, and natural gas--a brief blip in the history of human use of energy, these sources that were a billion years in the making, are about to be used up, and the transition to solar and other alternative, renewable energy sources will involve profound changes in our economic and political system; and third, the paradigm shift, which is nothing less than a shift in our view of reality from the mechanistic, reductionist, materialistic and deterministic ideas that have dominated thought since the Enlightenment, the Scientific Revolution and the Industrial Revolution to the holistic, dynamic, synergistic ecologically aware ideas that are characteristic of the rise of feminist consciousness originating in the women's movement. When all these

The Passage of the Solar Age



three shifts flow together and form a powerful force of social transformation, we are experiencing the rising culture. Capra leads us through the last few centuries of intellectual history as he outlines the Newtonian World-Machine and the influence of Cartesian-Newtonian thought on medicine, psychology, sociology and economics, leading behavioral scientists far astray. The new vision of reality is based on awareness of the interrelatedness and interdependence of all phenomena. Chinese ideas of YIN and YANG and their dynamic interplay provide a focus. Capra writes, worship of the Goddess will return! It is the task of women to play a pivotal role in bringing about the cultural transformation. Men will help, too, to the extent that they can outgrow their conditioning and learn to work in nonhierarchical, nonbureaucratic and nonviolent modes. Well, sisters, our work is cut out for us. Let's get busy. The hexagram for "change" in the I Ching, reads...



“After a time of decay comes the turning point. The powerful light that has been banished returns. There is movement, but it is not brought about by force...The movement is natural, arising spontaneously. For this reason the transformation of the old becomes easy. The old is discarded and the new is introduced. Both measures accord with the time; therefore no harm results.”

HEH

girls
are
strong



Dial-a-Poem Chicago

The Chicago Council on Fine Arts has begun "Dial-a-Poem Chicago", a pre-recorded 1 1/2 - 3 minute reading by one of 33 Chicago area poets, which is changed weekly. Upcoming literary events are also announced when time allows.

Poets were chosen through a competition open to the public.

The Dial-a-Poem number is
(312) 346-3478.

The Hundredth Monkey by Ken Keyes, Jr. is a powerful little book that tells you what you can do to help avert nuclear disaster. You may be "the hundredth monkey"--the one that makes the difference. We think so highly of this book that we are giving a FREE copy with a one year subscription to The Creative Woman. Send \$5 to The Creative Woman for your free copy of The Hundredth Monkey and another year of this quarterly.*

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